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THE RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK

Christian Aspects of Economic Reconstruction

HERBERT N. SHENTON

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COMMITTEE ON THE WAR
AND THE RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK

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FOREWORD

This booklet is one in a series appearing from time to time under the general heading, The Religious Outlook. These publications are being brought out under the auspices of the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook in the hope that they may help to focus attention on some of the larger issues facing the Church after the war.

The Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook was constituted, while the war was still in progress, by the joint action of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the General War-Time Commission of the Churches "to consider the state of religion as revealed or affected by the war, with special reference to the duty and opportunity of the churches, and to prepare its findings for submission to the churches." Full reports of the Committee will be submitted in the near future. In the meantime the present series of booklets, issued under the auspices of the Committee, is offered as a preliminary endeavor to emphasize certain phases of the task of the Church that particularly challenge its attention at the present hour.

Communications designed for the Committee may be addressed to the Secretary, Rev. Samuel McCrea Cavert, 105 East 22nd Street, New York.

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CHRISTIAN ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

A great change has recently come over the world. Most of that change is written in terms of war. But a greater change is taking place right now. It is usually described as readjustment, or as reconstruction. If mere change were progress, there would be no more universally progressive period in human history than the present epoch, for there is going on at this time one of the most rapid readjustments of things to things, of things to men, of men to things, and of men to men, both collectively and individually, that has ever occurred in human experience. But evolution and change may be transition from good to bad, just as truly as from good to better. Every change is for profit or loss, for better or worse. In the midst of the confusion throughout the world the Church must continue to urge men to "hold fast to that which is good."

The confused citizen, in a new sincerity, born of trial and sacrifice, replies, "That I would, and gladly. But my little all is so involved in the welfare of humanity and in the maelstrom of unknown forces that I must ask what *is* good and *how* hold fast." The war has taught him

in a dramatic way that he cannot plow his furrow or ply his trade unmindful of his fellows' deeds and needs. For a human struggle born three thousand miles away and across the great sea summoned him from his accustomed tasks and demanded his life and his all.

The Church must answer his question by something more than a mere restatement of its beliefs. It must collectively and in a magnificent way, using every resource at its disposal, endeavor to *prove* what is good and *how* it is best obtained. It must, therefore, wrestle and agonize on a tremendous scale in consecrated research. Such an organized search, or research, was needed before the war. The menace of violence, the confusion of readjustment, and the opportunities and responsibilities of reconstruction now demand that it begin at once and expand as rapidly as possible.

The Church must to the best of its ability tell the *truth*, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, about the right and the wrong in social and industrial conditions, relations, and activities. It must protect every sincere search after the truth and every sincere statement of findings. It must be peculiarly tolerant of those who venture into new fields of thought in an endeavor to find fuller truth. If He is the truth, then each new revelation of the truth becomes a new revelation of Him. To falter in this effort to find the truth is betrayal of confi-

dence; to fail to make the best endeavor is self-annihilating sin.

Will organized Christianity have the vision and courage to undertake this task? Only careful planning, investment of funds, setting aside of otherwise useful men, patient waiting, individual sacrifice, and extensive cooperation can bring forth worthwhile fruits of research. There must be tremendous effort but not undue haste, nor must such research be limited to groups specially set aside for this purpose. A spirit of inquiry must spread throughout the Church. We need a central board which will challenge every group of men and women in this land, who live together, work together, think together, or worship together, to join in this search after the things which are good.

Every economic group is represented in the Church. There are bankers, lawyers, tradesmen, manufacturers, advertisers, retailers, laborers, farmers, and still others, all of whom are avowedly Christian men and women. During this period of reconstruction each of these groups is challenged by unusual opportunities and responsibilities for making all the readjustments in their own economic field tend toward a more Christian social order. Bankers, realizing that by their loans they control to a considerable extent the policies of the business world, must put to themselves the question whether loans are to be made primarily for private economic

profit, or to promote human welfare. Lawyers, realizing more intimately the importance of legislation in the attainment of social justice, should at this time seek to prevent selfish legislation often sought by exploiters of their fellowmen, and to promote such legislation for human welfare as is more easily attained during this period of rapid reorganization. Manufacturers are called upon to remember that production is for the common good and that private management is justified only when it demonstrates that it is in the best interests of the general welfare. Laborers must be no more concerned about receiving the last penny of wages than about the quality of their service. Consumers must become more solicitous about the working conditions under which the commodities they purchase were produced than about the bargain prices at which they can procure them.

It is not enough that the investigation into our economic problems in the light of Christianity be carried on by central ecclesiastical organizations or commissions. Every one of the groups noted above might well devote themselves to learning what is their own peculiar contribution—perhaps in such fine spirit as was manifested by the now well-known group of British Quakers who came together in serious consideration of their obligations as at once Christians and employers. It is only those who are practically occupied in particular economic

activities who can discern the finer ethical distinctions in their own economic realm.

Not only do Christians have particular responsibilities *in* their own economic groups, but, because of all that as Christians they have in common, they also have extraordinary responsibilities for eliminating suspicion and ill-will *between* these groups. If there is any permanent solution to the present bitter social and economic conflicts it will be found in the expansion of such a feeling of fellowship as that to which the Church is committed.

An Ethical Aspect in Every Economic Problem

Economic problems have social, and therefore ethical, aspects because of their inevitable bearing upon standards of human living. Everywhere we hear of readjustment and reconstruction in terms of production, exchange, and distribution. Very often it seems as if to produce more was the ultimate universal and supreme desire. More complete, or perhaps better organized, exchange seems sometimes to be a goal, while in redistribution millions seem to see a panacea. We see and hear also about new political arrangements and social mechanisms which are to be set up. All these things, in part at least, must needs be; but the ultimate, the grand objective, is not in terms of production, exchange, and distribution, nor even in the

terms of the new political order that may be developed—it is in terms of *men*. The criterion of reconstruction is the degree to which men are everywhere enjoying larger possibilities of life, or, to put it in another way, the degree in which each and every man is enjoying life, and that more abundantly. It is peculiarly the task of the Christian Church to inquire concerning all the readjustments and all the phases of reconstruction as to whether they are bringing such universal, more abundant life. Such was the purpose of its Founder and nothing is more fundamental in its faith.

We must realize, then, that not only has the relation of things and men been in a process of readjustment, but that *values* have changed. Things that before the war were called first became almost forgotten, and things that were far down the scale of values were suddenly highly exalted. As the appreciation of things has changed, even so has men's appreciation of men. Customs have changed and are changing. Old institutions are shattered and many of them passing away, giving place to new institutions. Old economic and social relations are gone. Out of the broken institutions and customs, modified by the changed and changing values, there is rising up a new order of things, and at the same time a new society, or what is often called a new social order. This reconstruction is going on and will go on. No one

can stop it. Almost anyone can, to some degree, change its course. Those with selfish interests, as individuals or organized into societies, will strive to influence the development along the lines beneficial to the fulfilment of their desires. The unselfish have the great task and responsibility of seeing that the interested ones do not ultimately hurt themselves, each other, and the rest of mankind in seeking for their own. This surely is the task of the Christian Church.

There are those who are dismayed because at such a time as this no great leader stands out head and shoulders above all others in the Church. Perhaps we sometimes forget that the strength of a democracy is less likely to be found in this type of leadership than in a multitude of leaders scattered through every walk in life and found wherever men dwell and walk together. The leadership of the Christian Church will doubtless in these days be found not in one man but in the many. The remarkable readjustment of our nation to the new conditions imposed by war was made possible because of just such leadership in every part of the nation, and in so far as the Christian Church can bring into activity just this type of leadership just so far will it be able to build its principles of living into the new social-economic order.

Does this mean that Christian ministers are suddenly to become called upon to pronounce

as experts in questions political and economic? It does not and for several reasons. First, we must now and forever give up the idea of the leadership in the Christian Church being entirely in the hands of the clergy. There should be lay leadership in all the activities of life in which Christian laymen are found. Second, the preacher's task is not to tell men individually or collectively what to do for their economic gain, but to tell *what they will become* by various ways of doing various things. His ultimate concern is with "man" and "the multitude," that which in the recent crisis the entire nation acknowledged was the chief concern for which it was willing to make unlimited sacrifices of all else. The preacher is concerned about political and economic adjustments and procedures, because they are means by which a group of men changes the lives of other groups and by which its own lives are changed. It is his most certain duty to tell men what they are becoming and how they are influencing other men, whether it be by their individual personal behavior or by their participation in, or failure to participate in, the very complex relations and activities of modern civilization.

In the third place, neither clergymen nor laymen need to be technical or professional experts in politics or economics in order to study the effects which economic and political changes have on men. Economic problems are of two

sorts, or may be said to range between two extremes. At the one extreme are a group of problems concerning which it is possible for any group of people living according to a set of principles to have decided convictions of right and wrong. There is no doubt but that the Christian Church can very positively label some economic relations and economic procedures as definitely bad and others as positively good. This is equally true of certain political relations and procedures. At the other extreme are economic problems and procedures which are almost, if not entirely, experimental. Even those persons having the most clear-cut principles of living cannot form definite convictions of right and wrong until the trial and error processes shall have been given a long test. But, even at this extreme, men with a philosophy of life can speak very positively as to whether these experiments are being conducted according to the best rules of the game. Even in such problems men should have convictions and should force decisions both as regards the rules of the game and as to whether or not the game is being played according to the rules.

There is, then, an ethical element in every problem of economic and political readjustment and reconstruction. The Christian Church is not only entitled to an expression of its opinion concerning these phases of economic and political reconstruction, but it is under

heavy obligation in these days of extreme crisis to give to its membership and to all mankind clear and unequivocal opinions concerning these problems.

The Ethical Aspects of Concrete Post-War Problems

The limitations of this pamphlet prevent any exhaustive listing of the sort of problems which must be met, and any thorough analysis of the Christian aspects of even a few of the problems is impossible. It may be well, however, by way of illustration, briefly to consider some of the most outstanding economic post-war problems, with a view to appreciating more fully that every one of them has an ethical aspect with which the Church has a vital concern.

The *League of Nations* is less a problem of political constitution and economic relations and more of a problem of national sacrifice than many of us have as yet realized. The League of Nations is not an entirely new political idea. Conceived centuries and almost millenniums ago, the concept has grown through many stages of development and has not been entirely untried. Men have from time to time seen advantages that could be gained by some such arrangements, but they have not always seen, or been willing to pay, the price; for in every

collective effort the individuals, whether they be people or societies, give up something in order to obtain something else. The preliminary question in the matter of the League of Nations is not as regards the invention of a political regime, but as to whether the people in these nations genuinely show an intelligent interest and sympathy in the well-being of their fellowmen, a sufficiently enlarged consciousness of kind and real interest in universal human welfare to be willing to make necessary sacrifices. If there prevails everywhere the spirit of desire for such a relationship between nations, working arrangements will be certain to be found. Such a passion and desire being lacking, no political or economic mechanism can be devised or constituted which can be relied upon to hold nations together in any serious crisis. Unless the house be founded on an intelligent, sound, and spiritually sincere rock, it will go to pieces when the winds blow and the storms come. The task of the Christian Church is to look after the foundation. It should make more real and sound men's convictions concerning the brotherhood of man and the stewardship of things in the interest of bringing to each and every man the greatest possibilities of life. If convictions like these stir the hearts of men there can be a League of Nations, and the league will be just as strong and as abiding as are these convictions.

Trade itself is an ethical problem. It should be not only a voluntary proposition on the part of both parties, but it should be voluntary when both parties are in full possession of the facts relative to the exchange. Such matters as the unloading of wares on other countries, the misrepresentation of trade arrangements, unfair methods of competition, the use of the advantage of one person or the disadvantage of another for selfish ends—these, and kindred subjects, are certainly ethical in their nature and the Church should speak concerning them with no uncertain sound.

Never has it been more clear than today that trade between two parties must rest on confidence in each other. Men of affairs in the United States are almost unanimous in stating that the greatest need for economic readjustment and reconstruction in this country is "confidence." Men must have faith. They must have faith in each other, in promises, in contracts; they must have reason to believe that business is to be fair, that competition and cooperation will be in the interests of public welfare and not merely ruthless exploitation. New risks must be taken, new paths must be tried, and there must be confidence in legislators and in judges whose decisions must often needs be based more on sincere reasonableness than on exact precedent.

Immediately after the armistice it was

reported on most excellent authority that hundreds of large business concerns throughout the country were willing for a period of months to forego the opportunity of gambling on the fluctuations of the market and to produce at cost. They expressed themselves as willing to make large sacrifices in the interest of stabilizing the markets during the transition of prices. Other firms which before and during the war had done business with each other, such as to inspire mutual confidence, have actually steered a way through the present uncertainty of prices and wages by contracts framed in good faith on a cost plus basis. There have already been inspiring stories in the economic readjustment and reconstruction in this nation, which the Church might well tell abroad, and there have been multitudes of examples of men and corporations of men doing the otherwise economically reckless if not impossible, merely because of the "faith" which they had in each other.

Is not the Church especially charged with the task of spreading such confidence and good will among men? Is it not strong enough to guarantee fair play and justice and to protect the weak against unscrupulous exploitation by some of the strong? Should not its own millions of members have that confidence in each other, at least, which would enable them to lead off in these ventures of faith? Cannot

it inspire its members to take risks with each other, the corporations formed of its members to take risks with other similar corporations? Can it not commence to work out a program for spreading confidence and good will among its members, its adherents, throughout the nation, and perhaps throughout the world? Of course there are economic uncertainties which it cannot reduce, there are economic futures concerning which it has no knowledge. The uncertainties of the future were never more generally realized than right now, and it is for that very reason that confidence of men in men is universally at a higher premium than ever before.

Certainly it seems that men committed to Christian stewardship should risk their economic all (even as they recently risked their lives) to the extent and degree that they feel that such a venture is essential to the good of mankind, and they should capitalize Christian fellowship to the end of reducing all unnecessary loss among themselves when making these ventures. Committed centuries ago to the doctrine of individual sacrifice for the good of others, the Christian Church now faces the problem of responsibility for what could be done by the organized use and, if necessary, the organized sacrifice of the property of tens of millions of people in one of the most critical moments of human history.

Foreign trade presents all the usual ethical problems of trade and additional ones. National trade policies must ultimately be decided by the people, and it is exceedingly difficult for the people of the United States to get accurate reports of the influence of the foreign trade policies of nations on the people of other nations. We have insisted on open treaties. The next step is to insist upon knowing exactly the effect of the treaties and of the practice carried on under them. America is called upon to assume new international responsibilities. At the same time that she does this, knowing the dangers and costs, she is commencing a new epoch of democracy in which she will more than ever place these responsibilities in the hands of her citizenship. By our acts as citizens we will shape and influence the destinies of people whom hitherto we sought to reach only through missionaries.

At this moment the United States finds herself in a position of strategic advantage relative to foreign trade. The ability of her competitors — friends and foes — has been materially reduced, while her own ability is perhaps greater than ever. For the time being new markets everywhere offer opportunity both for exploitation and for legitimate trade. It seems unnecessary to make any comments concerning insincere exploitation of such markets, and yet there are reasons to believe that there are such

possibilities. It would seem unnecessary to suggest that we guard ourselves against profiting because of the temporary inability of our allies, who paid the great price in helping fight our war; but the press has reminded us that there are those who have not seemed to consider such obligations very seriously. Trading with our enemies is a still more complex and difficult problem. Much depends upon the spirit of the enemy; and if it is difficult to analyze a repentant spirit of the individual, it is infinitely more difficult to be certain concerning the spirit of a great nation. However, there should be the utmost endeavor in this direction. Terms of trade should be agreed upon as soon as possible, and thereafter competition should be in the open according to the rules. We can go even further and remark that policies of persecution are usually as harmful in the long run to those who persecute as to those whom they persecute. The people in our Christian churches have the right to see that they have given to them such facts regarding foreign trade as it is necessary to know in order to have conviction as to the current practices. To know and act accordingly is as much their obligation as their privilege, if they are genuine citizens of a real democracy.

As has been said, it is exceedingly difficult to learn the effect of foreign trade and foreign policies on the foreign people. These can often

be learned only by intimate well-established personal contacts. The Christian Church has such contacts in every part of the world. It would seem as if she were peculiarly charged, as trustee of such contacts, with the task of telling us exactly what our international policies and practices are doing to our fellowmen in other countries. It would seem that the Church must organize itself adequately to assume this task both of collecting and of disseminating such information.

The *tariff* question is a most complicated ethical problem. Too often we have heard it discussed primarily in terms of which interests would be favored in this country. But tariffs affect other countries as well as our own and must always be considered also in terms of the effect which they have on the people of these other lands.

Tariff for purposes of revenue only is often, even under the most favorable circumstances, discriminatory. It is impossible, even if desired, to distribute the burdens of the tariff with anything approximating justice. Protective tariff is designated by its very name as discriminatory. Conceived as an instrument for the protection of infant industries it grew to be an instrument useful for the selfish protection of mature and highly organized societies.

Previous to the war, tariff had developed into an institution so thoroughly grounded and completely intertwined in our political system that it had commenced to seem an essential part of it. In a twelve-month the war did what a century of discussion had been unable to do. It not only created a revolution in the tariff but almost annihilated it. At the close of the war we again face the question—shall we deliberately reinstitute a protective tariff, or shall we introduce a revenue tariff, which later is almost bound to be in some respects a protective tariff? This will tend to be the case because we are a strong nation, a rich nation, a nation favorably located; because we can, for these and other reasons, make many of our own terms, especially regarding our tariff relations with weak nations. Have we a right, however, to do that which favors ourselves at the expense of others, with no more basic reason than that we are able to do so and that the practice is profitable?

But tariff is a method of regulation which has been used as far back as there is history. If we can use it to raise standards of living in other countries, if we can use it to protect standards of living in this country without undue sacrifice of those in other countries, there is justification for it. If we can honestly protect infant industries which will ultimately benefit mankind it may be considered on that count. If as a tax

it is the fairest method, both so far as our own citizens and those of other countries are concerned, then we should have it.

But the Christian citizen of this country should know not only the real intent and purpose of tariff regulations but the actual effects of these relations upon all the people in the world, and he has a right to expect his church to tell him what is just and what is unjust. Tariffs taken by one nation on goods received from another nation are funds for which the levying nation assumes a doubly sacred trusteeship. They must be justified in terms of what they cost the payer and in terms of how disposed of by the payee.

Taxes are as old as government, but the graduated income tax as developed during the recent war and as in use for paying the war debt brings to us tremendous problems of ethics in this reconstruction period.

Taxes are a contribution which the individual or the corporation makes for the public good. By means of taxes the sovereign power of the state seizes personal property and uses it as common wealth. In a democracy this sovereign power is the people. The last few years have brought about revolutions in taxation. The indirect tax, which was in so many ways invidious, has tended to give way to the direct tax, which is levied much more in the open.

The graduated tax has not only been a per capita levy but a pro rata levy on property. It exempts some persons entirely from the burden of contributing in this way to the public welfare, while we are told that it commandeers almost half of the income of others. The graduated income tax also overcomes the limitations put on Federal control of corporations, which hitherto under the Fourteenth Amendment were able to escape extraordinary taxation on the grounds that such taxation was discriminatory, corporations being considered as persons before the law. Taxation has, therefore, become in a very real sense a method of redistributing the wealth of a people. For when the income is regularly redistributed by some such process many of the effects which are brought about are the same as would be obtained if the capital which earned the income were itself redistributed.

In other words, modern taxation includes not only many of those problems that went with tithing, or which were so adroitly put to Jesus two thousand years ago, but it also involves the most complicated problems of collective stewardship or trusteeship of property. Is the process to be compared with taking from those who have and giving to those who have not? Is it working contrary to the principle expressed in the story of the talents; or do we find a more fundamental explanation when we begin with

the widow's mite and the rich young ruler? For not only have the common people become their own high priest, but in a democracy they are becoming their own prince, levying assessments, controlling each other and the common wealth of men in the interests of their Father's Kingdom.

The *World War debt* must be paid. It is estimated that the total cost of the war is about $211,600,000,000. At five per cent, the interest alone would be over $10,000,000,000 annually. In France the debt is far over one-third of the total wealth of the country and the interest will be almost one sixth of the annual income. The estimates for Russia, Greece, and the Central Powers are even higher. The equitable distribution of the burden of this debt will be a problem for years to come, while the problems of readjustment, in production, trade, and migration, to meet the inequalities of opportunity imposed by the present distribution of the debt, will be such as to challenge our most serious consideration. The Church has made noble first steps in the task of spiritual and physical rehabilitation. May we hope that she will consecrate herself to the task of determining whether there is a national significance to the doctrine of bearing one another's burdens and whether this doctrine demands a policy in regard to these World War debts?

The *problem of immigration to the United States*, because of the conditions just described, takes on new aspects. Immigration must not be considered primarily as an economic problem. Although capital has desired immigration in order to reduce the cost of labor, and although organized labor has generally opposed immigration in order that wages might advance, the final answer to the problem of immigration is not to be found merely in terms of wages and of protection to capital.

We must ask ourselves the question, by what right do those who first occupy a favorable place under the sun deny the privilege of that occupancy to others, who, through no fault of their own, were born thousands of miles away? On the other hand, we must remember that part of that which makes our nation desirable is the society with its institutions and customs that have grown up in this place—a society, indeed, which has seemed to be a leader in some ways among the nations of the world.

Perhaps we have just as real a responsibility for protecting our social character and integrity by limiting immigration as we have obligation to share to the limit of common good the advantages which we now call ours. But one thing is certain—we do not have a right to say arbitrarily "yes" or "no" in terms of our selfish satisfaction or in terms of thoughtless sentimentality. It is a problem of justice

between the millions of this nation and the desiring myriads of other nations. It is a problem with which we must wrestle continuously and strenuously until we have found policies and established ways and means which will increasingly bring about justice between ourselves and our neighbors.

It is impossible to set forth even the elements of the problems of *Industrial Democracy* in this brief paper. Suffice it to say that Christianity is just as much concerned about the application of the principles of Christian democracy to the government of industry and production and to all the problems of living and working together as it is concerned about political democracy. Numerous excellent statements of ideals have been made. But we must remember that it is the difference between ideals and conditions which is the cause of social unrest and that social unrest becomes unhealthy and dangerous when ideals move forward rapidly and conditions do not keep pace.

Mr. W. B. Wilson, our Secretary of Labor, recently stated it in this way: "The real cause, the basic cause, for unrest in the world, in our own country and in other countries, is the difference that exists between the actual standards of living in the community and the ideals of the individuals who constitute the community. In our own country we have the

highest standards of living, the best material conditions that exist anywhere on the face of the globe, and yet we have some unrest, and the reason for it is that in addition to our having the very best standard of living that exists anywhere, we have also the very highest ideals that have been conceived by men, and because of our high ideals we are likely to have a spirit of unrest. Those who have gone abroad in our armies have been given higher ideals than before they were mobilized in this country and sent abroad. These ideals must be reckoned with."

Merely to preach and foster the development of ideals without working out ways and means to their attainment may be fraught with tremendous danger. The Church must not only preach ideals of industrial democracy as the truth but must study the way to obtain these and actually cooperate in bringing them to pass. If the Church deprecates violence it must show a better way. If it charges leaders with being selfish and materialistic it must raise up unselfish and spiritually-minded leaders. At best the Church would always do well to inquire carefully into what often seems at first glance to be mere materialistic ambition but what on close acquaintance often proves to be efforts at emancipation or efforts to attain by possession of things the firm spiritual satisfactions of life. Perhaps if the blind strivings of many of the

most restless were accurately analyzed, we would find that they were really longing for social joys and spiritual satisfactions for the attainment of which they are using unfortunate means. It is conceivable that by careful study of their own undefined desires we may train a new ministry which will reduce misunderstanding, bitterness, and strife.

These and hosts of other economic problems must be faced by Christianity. The prevention of waste, the distribution of the surplus obtained by collective effort, the apportionment of the social inheritance, the adjustments of rights and privileges, now challenge the thought of the Christian Church as never before. For at the heart of every economic question confronting us today there is an ethical problem which must be the vital concern of the Church.

Economists tell us of what is going on in the world of things and sociologists tell of new social relations and social achievements. Physiologists and psychologists tell of changes wrought in mind and body. Economically and socially almost anything seems possible at this period of reconstruction. It remains to those who have faith in God and in humanity to decide what changes will actually take place. The Christian Church has never faced the responsibilities of such serious choices. Every member must help make the decisions

and the most perfect organization of all its resources must aid the members in so doing.

In brief summary we may say that the Christian Church must strive to its utmost, in these times of world-wide confusion, to aid men everywhere and at all times to "hold fast to that which is good." It must, in the rapid shifts of readjustment, train and bring forth men of vision, prophets, who will as consecrated statesmen show us "the way." It must at any cost strive to reveal and assist in having revealed in all human and economic relationships and procedures that which is "the truth." It must specifically interpret all the problems of human activity in terms of "life more abundant."